

THE BLACK SLAVES OF PRUSSIA

AN OPEN LETTER ADDRESSED TO
GENERAL SMUTS

BY
FRANK WESTON, D.D.
BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR

*Head of the Universities' Mission in the Eastern
Districts of German East Africa*

GENERAL SMUTS says :

"I have read the open letter of the Bishop of Zanzibar to me with the deepest interest. It contains a very solemn plea to the conscience of the British people, backed up by an imposing array of solid facts."

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*From General Smuts to the Secretary
of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.*

GENERAL SMUTS' HEADQUARTERS,
SAVOY HOTEL,
LONDON, W.C.

18th January, 1918.

DEAR MR. TRAVERS,

I have read the Open Letter of the Bishop of Zanzibar to me with the deepest interest. It contains a very solemn plea to the conscience of the British people, backed up by an imposing array of solid facts.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. C. SMUTS.

THE BLACK SLAVES OF PRUSSIA

MAGILA MISSION
MUHEZA, TANGA
November 7th, 1917

DEAR GENERAL SMUTS,

You will not be surprised, I think, to hear that we who live in German East Africa are becoming anxious about the fate of the colony.

The British Government and its Allies have spoken with decision: they have pledged their honour that they will fight till liberty is established throughout the world; until no one weak people is oppressed by a stronger race. And the President of the United States has given the authority of his great country to this solemn pledge.

But there are signs that some in England and on the Continent are ready to end the war before this liberty is established. A desire for a quiet life, and, I suppose, a lust for money seem to outweigh in some minds the value of liberty; and tempt men to dishonour the sacrifice of blood and sweat that others have offered in its cause.

We are, therefore, becoming really anxious both for our Africans' future and for the honour of our country. We are afraid that Africa will be enslaved to Germany. We are afraid lest a small peace party cause our rulers to break their imperial pledge to establish liberty or die.

It seems right, therefore, that some one who knows German East Africa should publish the true facts.

And I desire to address these facts to you, Sir, for two reasons.

First, it is right that they should be set before one who has had experience both of Africans and German colonial rule, so that he may understand the exact points involved. And no one of our leaders has that experience in the same measure as you have.

And, secondly, as a missionary bishop, I write under a serious handicap. When missionary bishops speak of African rights, men lend an unwilling ear, and "wink the other eye." You, Sir, alone of all our leaders, know something of my own attitude to Africans. If you will, you can gain for my case a fair hearing. For you can testify that during the time I served as a porter in your East African Force, your Coast Column took no harm from my holding command of its African carriers. You can tell them discipline was fully maintained, the work done to time, and that without the loss of a single load of food or ammunition.

Shall Great Britain Betray?

Before I pass to the case against German rule in Africa, there is one point of the greatest importance.

Many thousands of German subjects in this Colony have been taken by Great Britain to act as porters at the front. They have assisted our forces to kill or capture their late masters. Great Britain took them; she could not do without them. But the Germans had published orders to all the people, before their retreat began, that no one was to help the English; and that any one helping them would be liable to execution when the Kaiser's Government returns.

Is Great Britain prepared to betray these thousands to their late masters?

We called on them to help us fight for liberty. When victory comes, shall we dare tell them, It was *our* liberty, not *yours*, we sought? God forbid!

But we cannot leave it here. There is a further point.

In taking German subjects as our carriers, what was our position towards them? Were we out to enslave the conquered population, as the Kaiser does in Belgium and France? Were we heading a rebellion of Africans against the Kaiser? Or were we taking over the Colony in the name of liberty?

If we hand the Colony back to the Kaiser, we stand convicted of the very crime the Kaiser has committed: of compelling enemy subjects to help the fight against their own country. Is it conceivable we British could do that? And just because the people were not 'white'? Again, God forbid!

If we let the Kaiser have East Africa again, we shall be guilty of a monstrous betrayal of thousands who gladly trusted us, and followed us to the war.

A Personal Experience

Let me now turn to the question of German rule in East Africa.

I will grant, gladly grant, the efficiency of the German system; and acknowledge no little assistance from some of the officials, from the time they found us established here on their arrival until within about two years of the outbreak of the war. My business, however, is not to discuss how English missionaries get on with German officials. We have to enquire how Germans treat Africans, under their colonial system.

What follows is my own personal experience. I record what I have seen and heard and know. What the indictment would be were several men to write I

dread to think. Here is one man's plain story. It may be well to add that I am in my twentieth year of residence in East Africa and in my tenth year as Bishop of a considerable part of German East Africa; that I have many acquaintances and friends among Mohammedan and heathen Africans, and do not live merely among Christians; and that I can speak with the people freely in our common tongue, Swahili:

And the sum of my story is this: —

I will describe the state of things prevailing in the Colony before the war, in ordinary times of peace, when officials were at leisure to do their best for their subjects.

The officials are, in the main, painstaking, accessible and conversant with the customs of their people. In civil matters they are more or less just to the native, and ready to seek the facts.

“ They Rule Entirely by Fear ”

Their failure is due to their inbred cruelty, which they encourage their African underlings to copy. They rule entirely by fear; and cruel punishments are their means of spreading terror throughout the land.

For example. The Government appointed Labour Commissioners to check the excesses of planters. On the civil side they did much useful work. But their methods of punishing the labourers were so cruel that they undid the good they accomplished.

Flogging is the German's pleasure. Twenty-five lashes are given as commonly as in London, on a big day, the police cry, “Move on.” While fifty lashes, in two instalments, are very frequently given.

Now there are floggings and floggings. The African does not easily cry out. And those who have had to pass Government Houses at flogging times will

bear me out that it was no ordinary flogging that produced the shrieks to which we had to listen. I am personally not averse from corporal punishment: it has much in its favour. But cruelty is not punishment. The German *sjambok*, of rhinoceros or hippopotamus hide, is cut to damage, not merely to hurt; the soldiers who lay it on are past-masters in the art; and the German himself presides at the ceremony to see that no mercy is given. To make it still more cruel, there is a notorious "law of floggings": I hope not official, but certainly enforced by the officials. It is this. The condemned man is not tied up, as he ought to be. He lies on the earth, his face in the dust or on a hard floor, as the case may be. After the first two or three strokes he usually has to be seized and forced to keep still. If he continues to wriggle and scream, he is liable to receive the same number of strokes again, there and then.

、 Flogging Most Cruel

Again, when the punishment is over, if in his pain and excitement he forgets to come to attention and salute the German, he is liable, there and then, to receive the whole punishment again. Thus while the law orders fifty lashes to be given in two instalments, a man gets fifty at one time: twenty-five for his offence and twenty-five for his breach of etiquette! Cruelty is a mild term in which to describe it.

Torture is another recognized method of dealing with Africans.

The Germans always accept the word of their African underlings against a native. In small cases a flogging settles the matter. But if it be a case that must go to a higher court, or one that involves stolen property, torture is employed to produce confession or evidence.

I will give two cases in my own knowledge, both of them friends of mine.

(a) The first was sent by his German official into the woods with policemen and *sjamboks*, and beaten day by day for quite a week, until his body was a mass of wounds and sores.

(b) The second was put in the "iron-hat." A band of iron was passed round his head, and tightened by means of a vice-like screw, so as to press more especially on his temples. The agony is unspeakable.

Another dodge is to tie a string to the middle finger, pass it back under and round the forearm, and tighten — till the man confesses.

With a system such as this the police force can usually supply a criminal to meet every case; and can also wipe out all private grudges they may have against their fellow-subjects.

In fact, the underlings are as bad as their masters; and no one dare complain. Revenge is, in my experience, always taken on those who venture to appeal to the German.

Chain-Gang Torture

Again, the punishment of the chain-gang is a most serious cruelty.

Eight men, or thereabouts, are chained by the neck to one very heavy chain. They are not unchained at all till their sentence is finished. Day and night, at all times and in all circumstances, the eight men live and move as one, while they are entirely at the mercy of the gaolers, who use on them freely *sjambok*, heavy nailed boots, or the butt-ends of their rifles. I have seen *women* in chains of a lighter kind.

Many of my friends have been through this; some have died under it. My teachers, who were caught

during the war and locked up because I am English, have also given me their experience of chains. They say a flogging is preferable: they know because they had a taste of both.

Deaths in gaol were far too common. Sometimes the Germans would move a whole set of gaolers: but they did not act unless things became very bad indeed. On this I cannot lay great stress, since in the nature of things the deaths cannot now be proved. But of the brutality and ill-treatment there can be no question: there are so many who have suffered it.

Methods of German Police

Germans encouraged their police in cruelty. Even in the court, before conviction, the native was knocked about by the police: the Germans quite approved. If the accused, or his witness, did not stand at attention strictly; if he moved his hands when making his statement; if he called the German "master" (*bwana*) instead of "great master" (*bwana mkubwa*); if he showed hesitation in answering; or did not understand the German's Swahili; or if, as often happened, he blundered in putting his own vernacular into Swahili, the police boxed his ears or hit him with their fists. It was the custom. It exalted the German's dignity. That it did not serve justice was no matter.

The Government school teachers were brought up in the same way. They were so often flogged themselves at school, that they became great floggers. And a *sjambok*, freely used, was found necessary for educating small boys of any age from seven to thirteen. And it was laid on soundly.

In one case I came on a Government headman giving *sjambok* to a boy of thirteen for absenting himself from a German mission school. He told me the

head of the mission had secured an order from the District officer that all absentees were to have *sjam-bok* from the headman!

It is a disease, this flogging. It makes the Germans feared everywhere: but it poisons the German mind, and the mind of the African underling.

Vicarious punishment the German loves: making parents and wife suffer for the faults of son or husband. And this not for local offences in which connivance is suspected, but for crimes done miles and miles away.

Treatment of Native Chiefs

Another peculiarly German habit is the persecution of native chiefs. I will give one instance out of several.

Old Mataka, a Yao of great renown in Portuguese Nyasaland, died, leaving two sons. One inherited the tribesmen who had crossed the Rovuma into German territory; the other received his father's own district. The German official in Lindi at once tried to induce the second man to move with all his people into the German sphere. The German Mataka therefore sent a letter to his brother, warning him not to be such a fool as to move. This letter was seized at a German military post, read, and sent to Lindi. The writer, one of the highest Yao chiefs, a Sultan to his own people, was at once put in chains with rigorous labour, and after a short time died in chains.

As a final example of German terrorism, let me add that Germans on tour required as a rule to be supplied with a young girl at each sleeping-place. The headmen naturally do not pick them from their own families!

These are but a few typical examples of the work-

ing of the German colonial system. It is cruel, relentless, inhuman. And the reason is that it is German. Some of the administrators are pleasant men, kindly, affable and sympathetic with their people up to a point. They will even drink whiskey with a chosen African here and there! But once let them become official, and cruelty is the necessary attitude.

“ The *Sjambok* Ruled the Plantation ”

The planters exercised great authority over their labourers. In writing, some rules of restraint did exist: but they were not observed much. The *sjambok* ruled the plantation and the household. Fifteen lashes were quite easily earned; and twenty-five was the normal reward for hurting your master's temper. It was very difficult for an African to appeal to the Government against a planter. No doubt, it should not be made too easy. But there are limits. The penalty for making a charge that was not proved was a year's imprisonment and at least fifty lashes. This I was told by a Judge, in the matter of a young lad whose master forced him to shameful practices, while my observation is that the penalty for proving a charge was nearly as bad, since the employer took his revenge later at his leisure.

The reason of this latitude allowed to planters will appear later.

To sum up on this point. The German method of governing Africans is cruelly inhuman and destructive of the native's self-respect. It is exactly designed to make him, and keep him, the obedient slave of a European power, for ever and a day. The fear of the Germans is so deeply rooted in the natives that the power of initiative remains only with those who, sharing in the administrations of the country, act for

their own profit. As slavery the system is splendid. Otherwise, it is sheer cruelty, and all the Africans I know, of whatever tribe or religion, have for years past been longing for the Germans to go from their land.

The " Splendid " System of Slavery

In every colony labour presents serious problems, and many are the proposals made for solving them.

The German Government accepted two. It publicly and officially forbade all forcing of labour: the rule to that effect bearing the Governor-General's signature, if not that of the Emperor himself. Privately, and even officially, labour was regularly forced.

Governor Von Rechenberg, one of the best and most humane officials I have known, himself informed me that no labour could be forced.

His District Officers informed me that if they forced labour and were reported for it, the Governor was very angry with them; but that if they did not force labour the shareholders of the plantations made trouble for them at the Colonial Office.

It appears that among the shareholders are persons of such great weight that the local officials are bound to consider their wishes.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Officials cannot sell Government land: for that you must go to the German East Africa Company (D.O.A.S.).

The forcing of labour is so managed as to put the finishing touch to the dehumanizing of the native. It is true that in some districts, where natives live near the plantations in good numbers, a man is only required to put in thirty days every four months with any employer he may be able to agree with. Under this system the planters are, more or less, bound to treat their labourers fairly well.

Examples of Dehumanization

But in many places it is not so done. Let me give a few examples from my own personal observation.

(1) A bridegroom seized at the church door from the side of his bride, and kidnapped for labour at the coast a hundred miles away.

The District Officer said he was sorry, but could do nothing.

(2) The women of a village seized and detained till their husbands redeemed them by consenting to go to the coast for various terms: starting at that very moment.

(3) Men collected at night from their beds, tied with rope, taken to a German planter's camp, forced to accept journey-allowance under threat of *sjambok*, and then taken to the coast as volunteer labourers.

In one such case, the German whom I interviewed said he had an official license for so many men from each headman; and pleaded that his hunters always removed the rope before they produced their captives.

(4) An Assistant District Officer summoned a large meeting of elders. Eight hundred attended. After business was done, an order was issued that none could go unless a young man came in his place ready to start for the coast plantations. This official said he hated the system, but that he had to do it.

These are typical ways in which the District Officers *supplemented* the normal supply of forced labour by the headman, which was kept up regularly in some districts, law or no law to the contrary.

Shameless Planters

The result, of course, was that some planters were quite shameless about not providing decent accom-

modation and food for their men: sickness was rife, and deaths far too frequent.

Also, they were in a position to cheat their people right and left. They all had their own stores, at which food and clothes were sold, the price being written off against the labourers' wages. The result, in view of African nature and a system of fines, was debt, and until the debt was cleared the labourer was held to work; unless he could get a District Officer to enforce the law which forbade his detention, a somewhat difficult feat. Native Commissioners did help here; but where none was to be had, the planter triumphed. And in any case the law only applied to labourers, or was only extended to them. Clerks and such-like were held in bondage till the debt was paid.

This labour system assumes that a native has no private interests, no family, no relatives, no domestic claims upon him, and no food problem of his own. He is a solitary unit able to hoe: and any German who can get him may take him at any moment of the day or night, and keep him for at least one month; or with luck three or four, or even more, months.

Conditions of Slavery

Slavery is a recognized condition under the German flag. Slaves may be sold and bought. But no freeman can become a slave, and all babes are now born free.

A slave is one who was bought or stolen or taken captive, or the descendant of such an one. And also all who ever sought a chief's protection in the old days of inter-tribal war are now reckoned as slaves, as are their descendants.

A slave can redeem himself or herself. Prices range from 15 rupees to 75 rupees, according to age and condition.

I have redeemed several hundreds at one time and another; often to prevent the separation of husbands and wives under the laws of slavery.

The District Officer at Lindi once told me his Government wished to abolish the state of slavery, and had thought of 1920 as a suitable year: but it could hardly afford compensation. The Kaiser no doubt had other ends in view for his income.

Meantime the system of slavery was much in favour with the Germans.

A planter could get hold of slaves who desired freedom; pay their master the money, and detain the slaves for a term of years while they paid back a minute sum each month, the sum being fixed by the German. Or he could deal direct with the master, and either hire his slaves for so much a year or redeem them as already explained without consulting them.

In the same way a German planter or official who desired an obedient concubine could always buy one in this way. He paid the redemption money to the master, and kept the girl and her certificate of freedom until he had no longer any use for her. She returned home a free woman.

The Prospect of Revenge

This point must not be missed. Viewing the possibility of the return of Germans and the result to those Africans who have been busy serving the English army in the colony, we may well spare a moment to ask how in the past the Germans have treated "traitorous" natives.

You, Sir, know the cruel fate of South-West African natives, and the many thousands slaughtered to satisfy German thirst for revenge.

The rebellion of 1905 in this colony cost a very few

Germans their lives. But some thirty thousand natives were slaughtered in revenge. Heads were paid for at the coast, one rupee a head, after a time; in the earlier days the so-called "friendly tribes" were permitted to massacre and rape the tribes from which the rebel had come.

Those who knew assigned the rebellion to forced labour and cruelty. The District Officer at Lindi, after "detaining" three Arabs for some months, claimed to possess letters from Cairo and Constantinople ordering the slaughter of all foreigners and their friends.

Some of his fellows were sceptical. But he had great influence, and I think the Anti-Islam legislation you discovered in the German archives dates back to his discovery.

It was frightful revenge for a very small matter. What will it be, the revenge on those who have helped the English to kill and capture almost the whole German population? No German will lift his head again until the country has been drenched in native blood: it is not in him even to try! And whatever safeguards a Peace Conference may devise, an excuse for an "expedition" is easily made.

We know that here, at Muheza, after the sudden visit of a British Intelligence Officer and the capture of a few Germans, several Africans were publicly hanged in the town; although no one here had any knowledge of the coming of the little column: it came and went like a flash.

Cruelties During the War

Of cruelty during the war it is not my intention to speak. What Germans are in war we all know now. Africa has suffered as Belgium and Serbia, but in a

different degree. We can say without fear of contradiction that enough cruelty has been shown to natives to shut the Germans out from any just claims to govern them again.

When I was with your force I was told by those in high command that natives had been thrown into the bush, their hands tied behind them, to starve to death; and that women, whose babies interfered with the carrying of loads, had to see their babies thrown into the bush to die.

Of brutal executions there is more than evidence enough, German photographs supplying corroboration, while the tales brought back to us by men who were carriers with the German forces are damning, and my teachers who were in chains and prison because I and my staff are English have a sad tale to tell — fourteen died under the treatment.

I do not dwell on these things. We may be told they are due to war madness, and the war will end. Yet I cannot pass them by in silence. For to my mind they belong to a madness that will not end; a madness that made the war, and, if it can, will make another before long.

The German Attitude

It remains then for me to sum up the situation. German rule is impossible. The German does not understand the elementary principles of humane Government. He is efficient, he is polite, he is correct in his behaviour and in his official attitude, but he is a German. And being a German he sees a native as a tool; he is cruel and inhuman, and under him the African must become a slave, or die.

I am quite aware that some Germans dislike this system: as some English planters assure me they ad-

mire it. It is none the less true that Germans, as an empire, approve it, and Britons, as an empire, hate it.

I myself can quote cases of cruelty to natives on the part of Britons: but they are so exceptional as to deserve silence.

We must judge things on the average. And the average German is incompetent to rule Africans. The Peace Conference that shall allow him to try again will be guilty of the wilful betrayal of liberty, and of the rights of the weakest people of the earth.

There is one point raised by honest enquirers I must try to meet.

Why, it is asked, if Germans are so cruel, have their soldiers stuck so closely to them during the later stages of the war?

Several reasons are, on the surface, evident to us who know both parties and the circumstances of the people.

In the first place, it is not easy to run away from a German force. My teachers, who were carried off in chains and badly treated, found, when they were unchained and put to carriers' work, that escape was almost impossible. A few got away: while several others tried and failed. Much more difficult is it for a soldier, who may not lag behind as a sick carrier can. And of course the penalty of failure to make good an escape is frightful!

Secondly, Africans do not fancy running away from their rations; and therefore are not likely to do so except within reasonable distance of home. A force far from home will have few deserters.

Thirdly, in waterless country where the few water-places are camping-grounds for troops and porters, fugitives have a very poor time. My teachers who did escape nearly died of thirst, and were only saved by coming on English troops at a water-hole.

Fourthly, the Germans filled their troops with lies about the brutality of the British, and the fate of all deserters. This we know from those who deserted early in the campaign, when escape was easier, before the great retreat began.

Only a Matter of Time

Yet one more reason is at hand. The Germans have impressed on their men that while, through force of circumstances, they cannot resist the English in this Colony, yet in Europe they are quite invincible. Their return to the colony is therefore only a matter of time, and on their return every deserter will pay the dire penalty of his crime. Now, Sir, you know how good a defence the Germans have put up, and how, favoured enormously by the size of the country and their local knowledge, a comparatively small number of them has given us an extraordinarily difficult task. The Africans are not fools; they admire courage and cunning; and seeing what Germans can do here, they have without doubt accepted their leaders' tales of England's failure at home. My teachers in the Lindi district were officially informed quite early in the war that Germans ruled England, that Scotland was in Austrian hands; and Ireland? Well! Ireland had been given to the — Turks! This was publicly announced at Lindi by the District Officer at the same time that he promised *widows of English soldiers* to faithful Africans!

Let it be recorded to the honour of one German, the most decent-living planter in that district, that meeting my people on their way home from Lindi, and hearing from them this latest news, he told them it was lies, all lies, and expressed strong views about the immorality of the government's policy of falsifying the news.

Germans and Non-Germans

We must add to all these reasons the fact that these Africans are very faithful to leaders whom they know well, and never more so than when things are not going well, and it is also true that many Germans, however cruel in punishment, have an affable way with Africans to whom they are accustomed, not showing the same colour prejudice that so many Britons unfortunately possess. Germans, I think, divide the world into Germans and Non-Germans. Colour is a detail, concerning non-Germans amongst themselves, so that while Africans must always fear them, with dog-like fear, Germans may make pets of a few, pets to be kept in order with the whip.

This last point was clearly emphasized in the proposal to legalize marriage between Germans and African women. A bill to this effect was taken into the *Reichstag*: I did not see its fate.

Such, Sir, is the condition of slavery out of which your force delivered the people of this Colony. And such is the state to which some in England and on the Continent desire to restore the Africans. In this civil area, British rule has already begun to make itself felt, and the people are rejoicing in it. Already the Administration has worked wonders, in spite of inevitable hindrances due to our state of war.

Is it conceivable that any man of honour, any man of compassion, can for a moment consider handing these Africans back to the Kaiser's rule?

Final Plea for Liberty

And now I must have done: for I have said all that can be contained in a letter, and quite enough to show how impossible is German rule in this Colony.

I know that your sympathy is with me, as also I know that on naval and military grounds no sane man will vote for restoring to the Kaiser this strategic point of attack. For once returned here, Germany can threaten not the adjacent colonies only, but Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, while with a submarine base here she can abolish all our trade with India and the East and close the Suez Canal against us.

Yet I would make one final appeal on the ground, not of expediency and policy, but of devotion to liberty.

The sacrifices of blood and money already made by Great Britain and her Allies have gone far to make good their pledge that they will be free or die.

Freedom is now within reach, and, by God's good grace, the Entente Powers have no fear of a failure that would be a living death.

In this hour of approaching victory, then, shall we do honour to the blood outpoured? Or shall we rob our dear Dead of their triumph? In our treatment of Africa we shall find our answer. If we raise liberty to a throne so high that her scepter can reach to the remotest African tribe, then indeed are our Dead ones justified, and their blood avenged.

“ If Liberty be Lost ! ”

But if, at the eleventh hour, we permit war-weariness to numb our aspirations, peace parties to warp our judgments, and interested counsellors to deceive our minds; if, that is, we end the war before we have set Africa and Armenia free; liberty will have been lost. Vain the sacrifice of blood; profitless the pouring out of cash; worse than useless the sorrows of a broken world; if liberty, Christ's liberty, be lost!

Of course, no man who has shared the fighting will, for one moment, question our duty of going on till liberty rule the world. The question comes from those at home who feel the pressure of the war, but do not see its real meaning. It is my hope that this letter may help some of them to see what the war really involves.

I am afraid men of my own cloth are largely to blame that so many Christians sum up this war as "God's fatherly chastisement," and would welcome its speedy close as a sign of His renewed favour. Oh! if only we could rid our minds of such cant and lying slander! I admit our share in the sins that have made modern Europe; I admit we pay our share of the bill those sins themselves present against us. But God? I see God calling on the Entente Powers to redouble their patience, and stiffen their shoulders for the final fight. I hear Him summon us all to carry on this war till the world-powers yield, and human liberty be crowned with Christ, our Liberator.

" Enslaved to Cash and Caste "

The Pope reminds us that Christ is Prince of Peace. Indeed, He is. Prince of Peace between God and man, of peace between man and man; Prince of the universal brotherhood in which eternal Love may be found revealed. But of a peace between ruling class and ruled class, while the ruled are enslaved to cash and caste; of such a peace Christ is not the Prince. The Peace of which the Christ I serve is Prince will give "peace at home" even to Africans. And with no other sort of peace will God wish us to make terms.

As a last word, let me say just this. Since it is evidently quite impossible to hold enquiries in Africa, or to refer these questions to the people, it behoves

ne who dares to champion the Africans to throw down such a stake as will carry conviction to the British mind. This letter is my stake. For if the Germans return to rule here it will cost me all I hold most dear: my work, my diocese, and my numberless relations with the people of East Africa. All this I am glad to risk that these people may be set free, and our Government allowed to fulfil its plighted word, and raise liberty to a universal throne.

I am, Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

✠FRANK ZANZIBAR,

Head of the Universities' Mission in the Eastern
Districts of German East Africa

To Lieut.-General the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, K.C.,
London, England.

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